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kill you." He jumped on the bedding, looked around, got a long stick, and ran out. He ran into a tree and stopped short. He cried out, "Do not run away from me. I will catch and kill you." Then he returned to bed. In the morning he told about it, laughing. 158 1787 159

Diversions

Modern economic life is not so different from that of the past, that we may not assume the same leisurely pace in the round of a day's activities. Industrious as they are, there is still ample time for diversion. Much of the summer day is free from labor after the crops are planted and again during the harvest. Men gather at their favorite sweatlodges to gossip, or they indulge in the same pastime while helping an acquaintance stretch and rub his buckskins. Women are equally prone to gather at a neighbor's for the ostensible purpose of weaving their baskets or even shelling corn. Games of chance and some of skill, horseracing, song practice, tales on winter nights, dances, picnicing for wild foodstuffs, visits to neighboring tribes, and the inevitable philandering, offer a variety of outlets. The middle hours of the day find the women and the younger men at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men at the sweathouse. The most significant circumstance is that despite their leisure, their diversions are not such as would lead to the elaboration of the artistic, literary, or philosophic life. Evidently something more than leisure is required for cultural growth; a pride in workmanship, a passion for novelty, or something of the sort, far beyond what these people possess. While it would be unfair to describe them as apathetic, they clearly manifest no desire to appropriate the arts of life beyond their canyon walls. Which is the more astonishing in view of their frank admiration of the Hopi. 517 181 517

The sweatlodge functions as a clubhouse for the men. While summer days are rarely so hot that one cannot work in the fields even at midday, it is convenient to rest during this period, and the sweating proves refreshing. Several of the more popular lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others are not near the water. While the lodge is owned and even constructed by the man who owns the land on which it stands, he does not necessarily prepare it for use; anyone who finds it convenient may do so. Here a dozen men may be found during the heat of the day, stretched on the sand awaiting their turn to enter, naked save for breecheloth (they are usually careful to avoid exposure), gossiping and discussing affairs of state. Women sometimes accompany their husbands, even in the presence of other men. They wear only the underapron. But such are rather family affairs, when children (perhaps boys alone) are permitted to enter. 515 517 575 345 517 515 575

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345 The lodge (*há'dso*) is a dome-shaped structure, 2 m. in diameter and 1.3 m. high, set over a circular pit 20 cm. deep. The frame (Fig. 57) consists of light poles set into the ground at intervals of 30 cm., arched and bound with strips of bark. Two horisontal braces are bent around these, one near the bottom, the other halfway up the sides, but leaving a space for the entrance. The frame is completely covered with several layers of blankets and buffalo robes, furnishing an air and light-tight

Fig. 57. A Sweatlodge Frame.

structure.[1] The floor is freshly strewn with green twigs, save for the space immediately to the left of the door (for one entering) where the stones are always placed. These are heated on a slowly burning woodpile nearby, and carried in with green sticks.

515 It is customary for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon; on each occasion four men may enter, but this is not fixed—there is hardly room for more. It is considered advisable to bathe in the stream first, taking copious draughts. The bathers crouch side by side, with legs crossed before them. The leader or host sits at the extreme rear with a basin of water by his side. It is pitch-black; the heat

[1] Cushing, (a), mentions a covering of grasses and dirt. I have not seen this; perhaps it is used on the plateau.

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is intense; each breath burns the nostrils and the roots of the hair feel ablaze.[1] Suddenly the leader bursts into song; the others may join him. Near the end of their stay (ten minutes or more) the leader sprinkles water on the rocks with his fingers. To escape the fierce steam which rises to the top of the lodge, one bows face to earth, gradually rising as he is inured. On emerging, the bathers may plunge into the creek, or loll about waiting their turn again.[2] 515

Any song may be sung in the lodge, but some are peculiar to it. These are used by an old man, not a shaman, to cure one who is hurt or wounded (*sahamł'dəldjá suəldjá*, singing to cure). Such songs cannot be sung outside for fear of a calamity. Rock Jones, a weather shaman, sang his songs to produce rain, which evoked an immediate response in the form of a flood while he was still within the lodge. 533 [755] [789]

Midafternoon finds the gambling games in full swing at one or two of the village camps where convivial spirits foregather; women and principally younger men. A typical scene at T——'s would show several games in progress in the shade of the cottonwoods, with shrill laughter punctuating the challenge and banter of the little circles seated on the sand; the horses standing, stamping, at the corral edge; men and boys coming and going; the children tumbling about in the sunshine; the elderly host, who rarely indulges, seated to one side, parrying chaff; and his half-blind wife querulously engaged in her household tasks. The function of this host is not clear; it is said that he likes to have the players come, but evidently they fee him from time to time. I have heard his voice echoing through the canyon, much to the amusement of bystanders, calling on the tardy to hasten. 517 525 [574]

Footracing (*tanomdgvigá*, race by two; *tanomdgovigá*, by three or more) is to a point 50 to 125 m. distant and return. Races were usually for stakes. There are no relay or kicking races, although the latter are known[3]. Horseracing has superseded footracing, but it has developed on the same pattern, i.e., a race to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course in the canyon (about 1800 m. long) and selecting the horses. To insure a colt becoming a racehorse, the following meaningless songs are sung while he is being broken:— 526 541 541 789 533

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[1] On a day in October, the temperature in a lodge that was not quite air-tight registered 138° F. (outside 73°F). Probably the temperature in the summer lodges ranges from 110°-130° F. O. A. Bonwick notes of a Cheyenne sweatlodge that "it is probable that the heat registered not less than 140°" (d), 4n). [345]

[2] I have found the sweating deliciously refreshing, relaxing every muscle. The plunge into the cold water has not the expected shock, although it does set the muscles quivering.

[3] In connection with a myth it was said that the object kicked (*tcapá'ó*) was a lump compounded of wool and pitch gum. The Pima use a ball of greasewood gum or a gum coated core of stone and wood (Hodge, (a), 44). [171]

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the corners cut off obliquely, and with a thong in each end. One of the thongs is provided with a loop to slip over the forefinger. 524 857

Suicide

Suicides, like the insane, are rare. The practice is referred to in myths and in funeral speeches, and is credited to the Walapai, yet there have been no instances for a generation. 762

Occasionally, a man or woman gets into many difficulties, whereupon everyone blames him, calls him bad. He thinks it is no use to remain alive longer, or he feels spiteful and wants to earn the name truly; then he may fall sick and die. Suicides are regarded as crazy.

Once I [Hayatla] saw a suicide, Tohawaga's elder brother, a lad of sixteen. I do not know what they were angry about, but they fought all the time. Tohawaga's father told him to behave: "I told you repeatedly, but you do not stop." Then he beat him. The brother took a pistol from his belt and shot himself through the throat. They threw his body over the cliff above Bridal Veil Falls [this is the mode of killing horses after the death of their owner], for they would not give the usual burial to a suicide. I do not know where the soul of a suicide goes. [766]

When mourners grieve for their relatives, the chiefs console them, saying, in the course of their harangues, "You will not long be alive. Soon you will sicken and die and go the same way. Now you must be good. Do not kill yourself." 624 765

Comparative Notes

The details of construction and use of the sweatlodge would afford good evidence of historic connection were there sufficient comparative material. The Havasupai type, a small dome-shaped lodge, is probably in general use through the western plateaus and the Plains. Its equivalent among the Pueblos is the estufa (ceremonial chamber-dormitory) of Spanish days. There is some evidence that it was not in use along the lower Colorado. The Mohave did not have a regular lodge but used a closed dwelling in the manner of the Californian assembly house. Mr. E. W. Gifford informs me that neither the Yuma nor Cocopa used it, yet Trippel refers to the Yuma use in the girls' puberty rites. It was probably not used by the desert Shoshoneans of adjacent California. The Washo, according to Doctor R. H. Lowie, do not use it. There is no mention of it in Russell's account of the Pima; hence, it may be lacking there as well. Finally, the Shivwits believe that they recently acquired it from the Walapai. The well-known type of assembly or dance house takes its place in northern California. Powers places the dividing line at Sacramento City: south of there the small lodge is used.[1] 171 345

[1] Kroeber, (a), 377; Trippel, 380; Lowie, (i), 307 f; Powers, 380.

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Wherever described, the shape of the lodge is given as hemispherical with the exception of the Luiseño and Cahuilla. The Navaho lodge is sub-conical, which parallels the departure of their hogan from the usual dome-shaped house of this region. The Cahuilla structure is somewhat like a rectangular pyramid; the Luiseño gable-shaped. But although these are of such size as to suggest the assembly house to the north, they were not used for ceremonies. The Salinan have both the small lodge and the large dance house.

Salinan, Luiseño, and Cahuilla had a fire in the center of the sweat-lodge; others carried heated stones inside (Havasupai, Navaho, Yuma, Southern Maidu, Klamath, Paviotso, Southern Ute, Wind River, and Kutenai). The Western Apache custom is not stated. The stones are placed to the left of the entrance (as one goes in) by the Havasupai and occupy a similar position in the Navaho lodge, where they are always on the north side, the lodge usually facing west. Water is sprinkled on the stones by all these groups, except the Southern Ute and perhaps some Navaho.[1]

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The regular Havasupai pattern for a race is to a point and return. I do not know how general this may be, for the only other references found are widely scattered: Huichol, Northern Shoshoni, Puget Sound Salish, and Alaskan Eskimo.[2]

Such references as occur to ball juggling in this area uniformly ascribe it to women alone: Havasupai, Zuñi, Paiute, Uintah Ute, Wind River Shoshoni (where women walk about as among Havasupai), and Bannock. It is a girl's pastime among the Naskapi also, but this is not specified as the Eskimo and Achomawi usage.[3]

Archery games are perhaps so common that only specific details can be accepted as defining analogs of the Havasupai customs. Achomawi and Atsugewi shoot at a rolling target, a disk of bark.[4] The game of shooting at a hidden cactus is very similar to one of the Pima, and less so to those of Zuñi and Hopi.[5]

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The question of the aboriginal nature of the musical bow in America excited considerable interest years ago. There seem to be at least two instruments involved which should not be confused. The first is hardly a musical instrument; the Havasupai hold the ordinary bow in the

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[1] Kroeber, (a), 64; Du Bois, (c), 185; Mason, J. A., (a), 126; Gatschet, (b), 82; Barrett, (a), 345; Franciscan Fathers, 2d, 340–3; Matthews, (d), 237; Mindeleff, 480; Stephen, (b), 301; Letherman, 280; Faye, 52; Chamberlain, (a), 567; (b), 194; Bourke, (b), 61.
[2] Lumholtz, (c), II, 48; Lowie, (a), 917; Hacberlin and Günther, 84; Culin, (b), 808.
[3] Culin, (b), 712 f; Lowie, (a), 199; Dorsey, G. A., (a).
[4] Dixon, (c), 218.
[5] Russell, (d), 179. Culin, (b), 396, 398.

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Pacific Stereoptican Co.

Framework of Havasupai sweat lodge, left foreground. Conical brush house, center, with brush-covered shelter where family activities are carried on

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Havasupai signs and symbols painted on a rock surface by Those of Old. Their meaning has long since been lost

[p. 116 G]

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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him of his approaching death. Immediately after death, the body was laid with the head toward the spirit land to the northwest, to which the soul would take its flight. It was lovingly washed, dressed in the best clothes obtainable, wrapped in a choice blanket, and the face painted. The body was then laid, face down, across a favorite pony for the trip to the burial ground.

They would hold a cry over Jasper while he was yet alive, and the child would know that he was entering an unfamiliar world. Thinking of this, I went to my stores and took a generous supply of food to send him. I had not given up hope, and the mere act of sending him food increased my confidence. The chief's face brightened as I loaded his arms. Even though he carried burial clothes, he was thinking of the food his boy would eat, instead of how soon he would die.

Saturday afternoon Bob came bustling into my office, his face beaming with excitement. "Big chief's boy no die!" he exclaimed. "Maybe get little better. Pretty quick, *tobolwa* [sweat lodge]." So I went at once to Manakadja's place, arriving just in time to witness the sweat lodge ceremony for the healing of the sick.

The framework of the sweat lodge stood on a smooth patch of sand near the stream. Long poles, their butts thrust into the ground, their tips held together with bark or yucca leaves, formed a dome-shaped lodge about six feet in diameter and four feet high. A gap between two of the poles provided a low entrance. Long use had worn the floor of the lodge to a rounded depression. It was now thickly covered with fine willow twigs and leaves to make a soft bed.

Jasper's mother, one of Manakadja's two wives, came from her wickiup carrying Navaho blankets which she spread over the framework, several layers deep, making the interior as dark and airtight as possible. She went to the near-by fire and scattered live coals from the burning logs over the stones she was heating. Next she placed a pitch-smeared basket of cold water within the lodge and beside it laid some green twigs; then she was back at her fire, smothering the stones again with fresh coals.

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757 Two men, wearing only breechcloths, emerged from the chief's larger wickiup, carrying the boy, limp and unconscious. Tenderly they eased him into the sweat lodge while another, as nearly nude as they, held aside the blanket that closed the doorway. The two [782] men entered to administer the bath and to sing the songs of supplication and thanksgiving that are a part of the healing ceremony. Jasper's mother, using two heavy, green sticks, lifted hot stones from the fire, one by one, and placed them within the lodge. The blanket was lowered to close the opening.

757 The men in the lodge sang two songs in a loud, high chant, but
533 I could not grasp the meaning. However, Mr. James had inter-
755 preted the songs that were sung when he had entered a *tobolwa* as being repetitions of their god Tochopa's instructions in preparing the lodge and conducting the ceremony. After these minute instructions had been sung many times, the singer became a supplicant, praying to the heat to heal the head, the lungs, the feet, the ears, until each organ of the body of which he had any knowledge had been named many times. At the completion of the two songs, sung to wild, erratic music, the leader dipped the twigs into the water and sprinkled the heated stones. A biting, acrid steam filled the lodge, making the lungs ache with its fierce heat. More sizzling rocks were shoved inside, more water was sprinkled on them, more songs were sung.

757 I watched and listened, intent on learning all that I could of
755 this ancient and sacred rite. Because they so heartily despised the white man's curiosity, his prying into their sacred ceremonies, I must be sympathetic in my effort to discover the deep truth back of it all. I must convince them that I believed, as they did, in the healing *tobolwa* (sweat bath).

757 I knew they felt as I would feel if someone should enter my
755 church and crane his neck and gawk, not with the hope of spiritual
345 enrichment, but rather to observe the reactions of congregation and minister. I respected their sincerity. Tochopa was their benign god. [776] He had taught Those of Old how to build the *tobolwa*: the framework of poles, the covering of green boughs and mud sealing it

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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tight so no heat might escape. But for some reason, the Indians no longer built those permanent, mud-covered structures; blanket-covered lodges such as this had replaced them.

In fifteen or twenty minutes the two men had completed the ceremony and emerged, carrying Jasper between them. They plunged him into the stream, laid him on a blanket which his mother had spread on the sand, and wrapped the blanket over him. All this time he had seemed unconscious, his eyes closed. But soon a warm glow suffused his skin, and the watching men and women stirred, murmuring happily; the boy was on the road to recovery. The healing ceremony of Those of Old had again done its work. A short time later Jasper was back in my classroom, a golden, red-cheeked boy, brimming with health.

While Jasper lay resting after his bath, Manakadja had gone to his older wife's house and returned with four hard ears of corn, presenting them to me as a token of his appreciation for my help in caring for his son. He was paying for what he had received, but there was more to it than that. Corn in the hand had the feel of warmth; it had life; and one could dicker for a long time in a trade by slowly adding grains to the buying price.

I could not use the corn, but in working with a people who were quick to anger and who punished with death, I stood in need of the things it denoted—the friendship and confidence of the tribe's head chief.

Jasper had recovered—without the magic cures of a medicine man. But why had the shamans, especially A'mal, whose reputation was unblemished, evaded the request of their head chief to hold a sing over his son? Navaho's influence, I learned, was still at work, although the former big chief had been dead for three years.

Indeed, not long after this, the Indians began talking more freely about Navaho's cruelty. One old man told me he had helped Navaho take a discredited medicine man up on a cliff, cut out his heart and toss his body over the precipice for the birds and the beasts to devour. He did not say what they did with the heart, but

553 an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as is the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach [515] maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their marriage, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers 551 without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

881 When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed [523] that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

861 Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared, [177] yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy. 868 Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller bro- 882 thers and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

517 In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday [525] the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

345 These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usally covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

515 The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During 517 the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth, awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accomodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish [535] they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

177 In comparing aboriginal Havasupai life with that of today, the most
511 outstanding fact is that it's just plain easier to live now. It's easier for the children to survive once they are born and it's easier for their mothers to bear them, since many of them go out to the hospital at Kingman for this purpose. It's easier to keep healthy and easier to recover when one is ill. Preparing food is a simple task compared to what it was. Many household goods, with indispensable functions, are available in the store in improved form and more lasting quality. Keeping warm in the winter now requires half the time and less than half the worry for many families have kerosene or wood stoves. Probably most important of all is the fact that food is easier to get. This has resulted, somewhat, in less emphasis
[594] on the family as an economic unit—a condition which has been accom-
[586] panied by a certain number of undesirable factors such as an increase in the number of divorces.

517 Even though the more readily available food supply has increased the
[461] amount of leisure time, there has been no corresponding elaboration of
525 spare time activities or additional specialization. In the heat of early afternoon, however, one may still see the women gathering from all parts of the canyon by foot and horseback at some appointed place for their gambling session. This is an important daily event and the women, clad in their best dresses, congregate for poker, blackjack, Russian bank and plenty of gossip. Gambling is not limited to the women by any means, but they are the experts—they should be—they get more practice, for with them it is part of the daily routine and it has been for a long time. Before
[177] playing cards were introduced, intricate native games were played instead.

345 While the women gamble, most of the men take sweat-baths. This is
[512] their most important source of daily recreation. The sweat house is a small dome shaped structure over a shallow, circular pit. The frame is made of about a dozen slender poles set into the ground on one side of the pit and arched across to the other side. These are bound together where they cross and a number of horizontal braces are bent around them, leaving space for an entrance. This framework may be covered with blankets or brush and dirt.

515 Stones are heated outside and put into a small pit within the sweat
517 house; then three or four men, clad in breech cloths, enter and close the

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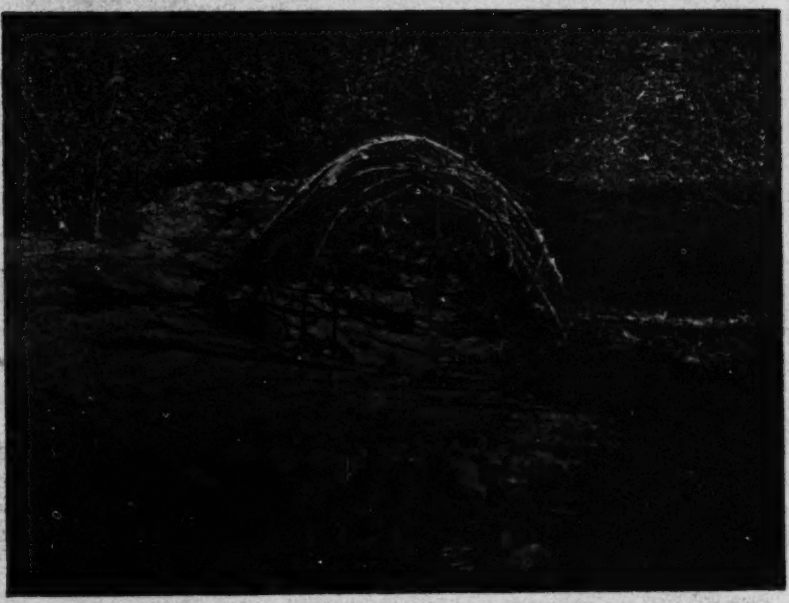

A sweathouse framework.

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A completed sweathouse showing the nearby pile of stones which are heated and carried inside to produce steam when they are sprinkled with water.